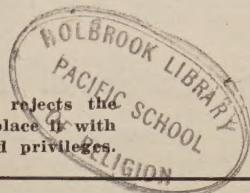


Social Questions

BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Service (unofficial), an organization which rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society; which seeks to replace it with social-economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinctions and privileges.



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Spread The Influence Of A Great Christian!

WADE CRAWFORD BARCLAY

With the death of William Temple on October 26 one of the great leaders of radical Christianity—many would say the greatest of our time—passed from the troubled scene of earthly conflicts. His loss at this particular juncture is incalculable. As the Archbishop of Canterbury, the primate of all England, he was the foremost figure in the religious life of the nation. But he was far more than this. He was the first citizen of Great Britain. The intimate friend and trusted counsellor of statesmen, his influence upon public policies was profound. He was beloved by the common people of England. His elevation to the most exalted position in the Church of England did not separate him from them. He had their interests at heart and they knew it. For years he was not only a subscribing member of the Labor Party, but also for almost two decades chairman of the Workers Education Association. The working men of England believed in him, trusted him, relied upon him, and loved him. But he was far more than a national figure. He was a world churchman. It is said of him that he had more connections, both personal and official, with church leaders of all faiths throughout the world than any other churchman.

William Temple was a man of many interests. As a student in Edinburgh he decided to devote his life to furtherance of church unity. He was a leader in the world student Christian movement. He was chairman of the great World Conference on Faith and Order (Edinburgh, 1937) and more recently has been chairman of the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches. He was profoundly concerned with the reconstruction of the economic order. In his preaching and writing he was forever raising the question whether our prevailing economic order, to use his own words, "can be said to express and inculcate a view of human life akin to Christianity?" And his answer was an unqualified no. Its "salient feature," he declared, "is the fact of unemployment on a large scale." Moreover, he declared, "it contains the seeds of war because it relies so largely on the profit motive, with which love of power is closely bound up." All of which is not to be wondered at because "all of us are born self-centered; that is our Original Sin." He was chairman of the famous Malvern Conference of 1941—he was then Archbishop of York—and it was officially named the Archbishop of York's Conference. Its manifesto,¹ profoundly religious, thoroughly Christian, and far-reaching in its social implications, was written by him.

Among the Archbishop's social concerns was a revamping of the finances of the Church of England, a renunciation of church revenues received from mining royalties and slum rents, and a redistribution of its income in the direction of

equalization of salaries and the guarantee of a decent support to all clergymen.

It is scarcely less than tragic that while he lived, William Temple was so little known among American Protestants. To lay men and women his name was unfamiliar. Thousands of Methodists have never so much as heard of him. His books have had no general circulation. His views upon the crucial social issues of our times have not been widely publicized by either press or pulpit.

We miss a great opportunity when we fail to speak to the people through the life and words of great prophetic souls of contemporary times. As a rule the words of men long dead do not greatly move or deeply convince men. People today are perplexed and troubled by the problems and issues of current living. They are more ready to listen to a contemporary voice than to pay heed to one who speaks from a bygone age.

The Archbishop of Canterbury being dead, yet speaks. Give your people a chance to hear him! Make the man and his message the subject of a sermon or a series of two or three sermons. Through his mouth and pen you can say things that many people would refuse to receive—even resent—on your sayso alone. The American people today—within and without the churches—need his word of sure prophecy. He declares profound truth in simple language. His convictions have power to disturb dull consciences, open blind eyes, and move callous sinners to repentance. Now is the time to spread his influence.

Seed Thoughts from William Temple

"Each man looks out on a world which he sees essentially as related to himself. This is the very quality of original sin. . . . It will need a strong and sustained effort to emancipate ourselves from the one-sidedness of the individualistic attitude and to penetrate to the full meaning of the truth that the fundamental reality of life is the interplay, conflict, and continuous adjustment . . . of individuals and groups. . . . A decision for sociality as the basic truth of human existence would create an outlook and temper so different from that which was dominant in the modern era now drawing to its close as to create a new epoch in human history."

"There are people who want to work and cannot work because they cannot be 'profitably employed.' Profitably to whom? That their work might be profitable to the nation and to themselves, there is no doubt."

"The 'natural order' is that consumption should control production, and that production should control finance. This order during the last century and a half has been completely inverted. Our proposal is to reverse the reversal of the 'natural order' which is characteristic of our phase of civilization."

¹The Malvern Conference Report was published in full official version in *Information Service* for May 31, 1941; a somewhat different text in *The Christian Century* for Feb. 19, 1941.

How May The Federation Be Most Effective?

(Continuing the discussion of the Federation program for the quadrennium, begun in our October issue, three additional articles are herewith presented. Comments are invited.)

Stimulate Social Thought and Action

CHESTER CHARLTON McCOWN¹

Among those in this Area who are at all interested in the vital social issues of the day the sentiment in favor of continuing and strengthening the Federation seems to be unanimous. The problem is how to make it most effective in stimulating social thought and action.

Unquestionably this quadrennium—and the next decade, will be a period of extreme social and economic conflict. The Church can make a large contribution to the peaceable and successful solution of the current conflicts if it faces the issues squarely and intelligently. Never has the Federation been more necessary than now, as a means of helping the Church to make the largest possible contribution.

A necessary pre-supposition to efficiency is that the Federation should be adequately officered and supported.

A large number of memberships of \$5 to \$25 must be secured. However, that the Federation may reach the largest possible number of persons and thus render the widest possible service, memberships of \$1 or \$2 are necessary, since many who are or should be interested may feel \$5 too large an amount for their resources.

The executive secretary should be an organizer and promoter, a person of energy and enthusiasm, with courage, but with no desire for martyrdom, and with a sincere devotion to social progress not by revolution but by educational methods. The church hardly needs a gadfly. A leader who can command respect and at the same time arouse the conscience will render a constructive service. If the Methodist church at large can be brought nearer to the standards of its social creed and the paragraph of the bishop's address quoted in the 1944 *Discipline* (par. 2022), more will be accomplished during these crucial years than by more radical efforts.

The BULLETIN, according to the consensus of judgment of various individuals whom I have consulted, does not best serve its purpose as a record of investigations of particular social issues in restricted areas of the nation. Such may well be included from time to time along with other matter. But chiefly the BULLETIN should contain information on nationwide social issues, specific social advance, and methods of education on social problems. Many would like to look to it for up-to-date information usable in preaching, teaching, and discussion. One who has long been interested expressed the desire for a "clip sheet." Both the June and October issues seem to me to be good.

One idea strongly favored by the officers of the California Conference Social Action Fellowship is that of making each Conference group or Fellowship a "chapter" of the Federation. This would give a sense of "belonging" which seems to be lost to many when they have no more tangible evidence of membership than a monthly BULLETIN. The Conference Social Action Fellowship has competed with the Federation. As a properly related local "chapter" it would make the desired connection and strengthen both organizations. Perhaps some arrangement could be made whereby the Federation membership fee would be shared in a small degree by the "chapter." A determined effort should be made to include laymen in the membership of both organizations.

One of our members has suggested there should be a Methodist Service Committee on the lines of the Friends

Service Committee. This is an idea well worth considering. Our Social Action groups and the Federation are really organizations for social education, and we have no organized outlet for practical activities of a generalized sort.

The Federation and the Church

GILBERT S. COX¹

The Methodist Federation (unofficial) has always had the support of many not of our own denomination. We value highly this cooperation of those outside our immediate denominational borders. But our primary responsibility is within our own vast membership.

We are now a church of some eight million members. By the very nature of institutions, the larger we are the slower we move and the more conservative we are likely to be. What a mighty social force we might be, once mobilized. But our leaders can go no faster or farther than the most backward will follow. The more members we have, the more machinery it takes to keep the organization going, and the time spent on repairing, oiling, and getting up momentum consumes valuable time, especially in these crises days.

Our first task is that of enlisting a much larger number of Methodist laymen and ministers. There must be many who are sympathetic with our cause who have no other channel of expression of their ideas and ideals of the Kingdom of God.

We are living in a period of social and moral reaction. The church reflects the times. Evidences are all about us. The very fact that for many years we distributed our bulletin, held our meetings, published our reports and findings without disturbing the peace, and in more recent years by official action are forced to placard our bulletin "unofficial" is a sign of the times. The Methodist purge has been successful. All the more reason that our group should continue to investigate, to study, to agitate for the things which make for justice and brotherhood.

At the present time there are in our church many of the rank and file of ministers, laymen, and lay women who are spiritually lonely. So many of our meetings, conferences, gatherings are in the main promotional affairs for more and more of the same. Many would like to feel they are working for a changed society, a Christian order at home and abroad. We are not content with that which is mild reform or remedial. Many feel that the crucial issue is not whether we shall bless this war, but whether we have the ethical insights to see what are the causes of war and the courage to try to remove those conditions which make for other wars. The issue is neither condemning nor condoning organized labor but discovering why there is increasing economic conflict in our society and what kind of a social pattern would lessen these industrial wars. The issue is not to condemn racial discrimination but to find out how we can so relate ourselves to others that all men shall have a new sense of worth. All such persons need the information, encouragement, and sense of fellowship that the Federation should furnish.

The Methodist Church began among the common people. Today millions of farmers, miners, and industrial workers are not only unchurched but have no concern at all for the church. Unless our Christian religion has some relevancy to their problems we lose their influence and betray our own cause. Whenever justice, brotherhood, opportunity, and human welfare is at stake, our gospel has a message. We must see to it that these issues are raised in our Methodism.

The finest traditions of Methodism are found not only

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in the prophets and Jesus but in the preaching and practice of John Wesley. His was not a "social gospel"; his gospel was social. It was not that he built a hospital, established clinics, founded a good-will industry and orphanages¹ for the poor. These were the symbols of his conception of the nature of the Christian religion. It was not that a secular historian believed that the Methodist movement saved England from a French revolution. It was the quality of life Wesley demanded in converted persons. We stand for that Christian tradition.

We believe no single contribution Methodism can make to society is more important just now than to keep alive and make vital the prophetic fire, the passion for a new kind of persons and a new order of society in which to live. We must keep alive in the church the zeal and devotion of Methodist women like Isabella Thoburn, Frances Willard, Mary MacDowell, Grace Scribner, and Mary Bethune; of men like Wesley and Asbury, Forsythe and Burns, Bashford and Blake, Eiselen and Ward, Rall and McConnell.

As Another Pastor Sees It

BLAINE E. KIRKPATRICK¹

More greatly needed now than ever in its history, the Methodist Federation for Social Service may well be entering upon its period of greatest usefulness. The gravity and complexity of the issues that confront us as we near the end of the war and enter the post-war period create the opportunity. If we are to avoid repetition of the breakdown in morale, the widespread discouragement, the neuroses and suicides, the break-up of many families, and other tragic results of the trying years that followed the first World War, there is no time to lose in raising up a prophetic and courageous leadership for the latent social thinking and planning, and creative reconstruction that the Methodist Church has capacity to supply.

The MFSS is providentially fitted to meet the imperative needs for such a time as lies ahead. It is "unofficial." It has a record of more than three decades of creative history as a spear-head of the social movement in the Church. It may well be on the threshold of its greatest usefulness provided: it can secure leaders of outstanding social insight and ability to match those we have had in the past, and find sufficient financial support to maintain an office and carry on an adequate and aggressive program. Such a program should, in my judgment, include at least the following features:

(1) A continuous program of research and analysis of our current national and world scene. Our people are not getting the basic information and the critical interpretation required for intelligent thinking and action. Most of their reading matter is either propaganda or superficial comment on non-essentials. For the most part the religious press steers clear of "controversial" issues.

(2) An expanding program of publication. Continue and expand the SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN. Beyond that, I would like to see a series of pamphlets in primer form, much simpler than anything hitherto issued, that would state the basic social principles and implications of our Christian faith in such "A B C" terms as to enable beginners to take first steps toward a Christian social point of view. My recent years in the pastorate have convinced me that most of the church school publications, so far as they deal with social principles, take too much for granted. They shoot over the heads of the great majority of our folks. Multitudes of sincere Christians want to do the right thing but they have never been helped to grasp the social meaning of their faith. A series of social study and action pamphlets—some of them study units—would help to enlarge

the circle of intelligent, socially concerned churchmen and women.

(3) Plans for reaching as many local churches as possible, with the program of social education and action. The bulletins, pamphlets, and study units would provide the materials for use in such plans. Insofar as possible, existing agencies of the church should be utilized as study and action groups: youth fellowships, young adult groups, Sunday school classes, Universities of Life, the WSCS, etc. The materials of the MFSS could, in part at least, be planned to gear in with the regular curriculum of these groups, offering supplementary resource materials at many points. In other cases they could offer alternative courses. Being "unofficial," they could be made more incisive, frank, and prophetic in dealing with controversial issues than official materials can be expected to be.

In many local churches a committee on social education and action might well be set up to awaken interest and to counsel with existing groups on use of resource materials. This committee would look to the MFSS, and to other agencies such as the World Peace Commission and the Board of Temperance for assistance in its work.

The "Crusade for Christ" is the great church-wide movement of this quadrennium, and it has the official backing of the entire church. It has in it almost limitless promise and possibility. But because it is official, the danger is that it will be unable to follow through the full implications of its objectives, and thus become "just another movement." Is there not here a great opportunity for the MFSS? Could not the MFSS help put content into each of the five great adventures of the Crusade—not only that of building a new world order, but giving new content to the meaning of evangelism, new pertinence and vitality to the educational program, a new meaning to the concept of stewardship, and a new social significance to the program of reconstruction?

(4) A program of field cultivation and organization, which would aim at greatly broadening the base of membership and cooperation within our own Church, and with like-minded groups of other denominations and organizations.

Civil Liberties

CONSTITUTIONALITY OF EVACUATION.—Argued in the U. S. Supreme Court on October 10 were two cases to test the constitutionality of the evacuation of citizens of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast. Briefs filed by the American Civil Liberties Union contended that evacuation is unconstitutional, not merited by the military situation, and that detention is a violation of civil rights. The case of Fred G. Korematsu of California came up on appeal from the Circuit Court of San Francisco. The issue, the Union stated in its brief, "is whether or not a citizen of the United States may, because he is of Japanese ancestry, be confined to a barbed-wire stockade, euphemistically termed an Assembly Center or a Relocation Center—actually a concentration camp. Because the petitioner refused to submit to such treatment he was adjudged guilty of a crime. The Union holds that such a judgment must not be allowed to stand. The second case was brought on behalf of Mitsuye Endo, a native-born citizen of the United States. Miss Endo, before her evacuation from California had been certified as a permanent civil service employee of the state of California. She seeks release from a camp established by the War Relocation Authority in which she is detained, without hearing and without any legal process, for the sole reason that she is an American citizen of Japanese ancestry. The Union's brief holds that the government has no power to detain a citizen against whom no criminal charges have been preferred and further that classification of citizens based solely on ancestry is a denial of due process and is forbidden by the Fifth Amendment.

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Canada's First Socialist Government

JOHN COBURN

(On July 10 of this year the first genuinely democratic Socialist government, the first not only in Canada but also in the Western Hemisphere, came into power in the province of Saskatchewan. The "kept" press of the United States was so generally silent concerning the event that the public at large does not so much as know that it took place. The Bulletin asked the Rev. John Coburn, D.D., Associate Secretary of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service of the United Church of Canada, to tell of the origin and growth of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and interpret its aims and purposes for the members of the Federation.)

The growth and success of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in recent years has been phenomenal. It has elected eleven members to the House of Commons. In the province of Saskatchewan it has this year become the government in power, displacing the powerful Liberal Party that with an interregnum of five years had been in control since 1905. It elected forty-seven of fifty-five members of the legislature. It is now the official opposition in the legislatures of British Columbia and Ontario. In the latter province, the citadel of financial power and conservatism in the Dominion, it this year elected very nearly enough members to become the government.

The C.C.F. came into being as a political party at a conference in Calgary, Alberta, in 1932. Representatives of certain farmer and labor organizations and socialist groups there decided that little in the way of social progress was to be hoped for from the two old political parties, Liberal and Conservative. Hence a new party was formed which in the beginning was a Federation of various groups. Mr. J. S. Woodsworth was its leader and for some years its sole representative in the House of Commons at Ottawa.

In 1933 the party held its first National Convention at Regina. A program was adopted. The following extracts from the Manifesto issued show the trend of the new movement: "The C.C.F. is a federation of organizations whose purpose is the establishment in Canada of a Cooperative Commonwealth in which the principle regulating production, distribution, and exchange will be the supplying of human needs and not the making of profits.

"We aim to replace the present capitalist system, with its inherent injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated, in which economic planning will supersede unregulated private enterprise and competition, and in which genuine democratic self-government, based upon economic equality, will be possible. The present order is marked by glaring inequalities of wealth and opportunity, by chaotic waste and instability; and in an age of plenty it condemns the great mass of the people to poverty and insecurity. Power has become more and more concentrated in the hands of a small irresponsible minority of financiers and industrialists and to their predatory interests the majority are habitually sacrificed. When private profit is the main stimulus to economic effort, our society oscillates between periods of feverish prosperity in which the main benefits go to speculators and profiteers, and of catastrophic depression, in which the common man's normal state of insecurity and hardship is accentuated. We believe that these evils can be removed only in a planned and socialized economy in which our natural resources and the principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled, and operated by the people.

"The new social order at which we aim is not one in which individuality will be crushed out by a system of regimentation. Nor shall we interfere with cultural rights of racial or religious minorities. What we seek is a proper collective organization of our economic resources such as will make possible a much greater degree of leisure and a much richer individual life for every citizen.

"It is a democratic movement, a federation of farmer, labor, and socialist organizations, financed by its own mem-

bers and seeking to achieve its ends solely by constitutional methods."

In specific terms the Regina Manifesto, which still constitutes the platform of C.C.F., calls for: Public ownership of chartered banks, insurance companies, and national financial institutions. Socialization of transportation, communications, electric power, natural resources, and essential services. Security of tenure for the farmer, crop failure insurance, agricultural price parity, removal of tariffs on farm machinery, and widespread establishment of cooperatives and credit unions. A national labor and minimum wage code. State medicine and full state education.

For some time the movement's progress was slow. It had no money and no press. Powerful financial and political interests bitterly opposed it. However, earnest-minded people went quietly to work. Clubs and study groups were organized in various parts of the Dominion. It has grown gradually but steadily until it now can be said to represent a nationwide uprising of the people in the interest of a new deal both politically and economically.

Some years ago, a Royal Commission dragged out into the light of day evidence that showed that the liquor interests had been contributing huge sums to the campaign funds of both the old political parties. These interests offered to make similar contributions to the C.C.F. Though desperately in need of cash, the C.C.F. refused to accept a dollar of this money. In fact, unlike the old parties, it has received no gifts of money of any considerable size. The movement has been financed by the small contributions of a vast number of people, most of them with limited incomes.

While the C.C.F. has no official connection with any of the Churches, it is significant that many of its leaders received their social inspiration from the Church. Mr. J. S. Woodsworth, the real founder of the movement, was born and raised in a Methodist parsonage. His father was for many years the Superintendent of Home Missions of the Methodist Church in the territory now covered by the three provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. Mr. Woodsworth himself for several years served as an ordained Methodist minister. He rendered monumental service to the Church in the work among non-Anglo Saxons in Winnipeg. During the first World War, he resigned from the ministry as he differed from the Church's war policy. From then until the time of his death, he devoted himself untiringly to the interests of labor. He entered parliament, and, as already stated, founded the new party. In the House of Commons, two of the C.C.F. members are ordained ministers of the United Church. Mr. E. B. Jolliffe, the C.C.F. leader in Ontario and the leader of the official opposition in the legislature, is the son of a former Methodist missionary in China. Mr. Carroll Coburn, editor of the *New Commonwealth*, the party's official organ, is the son of a minister and connexional officer of the United Church.

The critics of the C.C.F. sometimes charge that its leadership consists largely of impracticable, idealistic parsons and school teachers. It looks as if a lot of people in Canada are a bit tired of the performances of the "practical politicians" and have a mind to give the idealists a chance.

William Temple: "There are four requisites for life provided by nature, even apart from man's labor: air, light, land, and water. I suppose if it were possible to establish a property claim upon air somebody would have done it by now and would have made people pay if they wanted to breathe what he would then call his air. So too of light. . . . Unhappily, it has been found possible in the case of both land and water. . . . We need to assert the prior interest of the community respecting land and water with a vigor of which recent political history shows no trace."

Social Issues in Today's World

Political Life and Action

CANNOT THE CHURCH MAKE ITS INFLUENCE FELT? Make its influence more effectively felt, we mean, in the intolerably confused political situation of these times? These words are being written on the eve of the national election. When they are read the election will be a thing of the past. Whether or not the candidate of his choice was elected, will the feeling of the intelligent, conscientious voter not inevitably be one of mingled shame, regret and dismay? Is this latest presidential campaign to be taken as an indication of the present moral status of our American democracy? Were ever party platforms more self-contradictory? More reminiscent of Mr. Facing-both-ways? More given to meaningless generalities? Has ever before a campaign been waged upon so low a level? When before has there been such a volume of evasion, misrepresentation, appeal to prejudice, deliberate playing upon the fears of people? When has there been so little discussion of real issues, so little frankness in facing them, such deliberate labored attempt to becloud them? How many citizens voted, moved by the feeling of duty to exercise the franchise, but at the same time with a sense of futility, convinced that whether they did or did not vote would have little or no effect upon the course of human events, domestic or international? Is our citizenship irrevocably committed to the perpetuation of such futility?

On certain basic issues there is little if any difference between the policies of the two major parties and both refuse candidly to acknowledge their policies on those issues. Both, with some difference of degree are beholden to the same interests. Both bid for the allegiance of some of the same groups of voters, each impugning or denying the validity of the basis on which the other makes its claim, with the result that the average voter does not know who stands for what. Neither the candidate nor the platform of either party so much as mentioned certain of the basic issues of these times, much less proposing fundamental solutions. There is probably no other democracy in the Western world where there is such general unawareness of basic political issues and neither party in the campaign just closed did anything toward creating awareness of them. Is there no possible means by which our American party structures can be made to reflect the realities of the politico-economic situation—domestic and foreign? Is there no way by which the Church can bring moral power to bear upon the situation sufficient to effect change for the better?

POLITICAL ACTION BY ORGANIZED LABOR.—In some communities antagonism between A.F. of L. and C.I.O. unions has given way to significant cooperative action in behalf of community goals. The Redmond, Oregon, Union Council is a case in point. In answer to the question, "What are your Unions after?" the Council answers, "We are aiming for a better community—a farmers' market, playgrounds for children, improved school facilities, better pay for teachers . . ." The Council's political recommendations were non-partisan, favoring social progressives independently of political affiliation. Rather effective answers, are they not, to complaints against political action by organized labor?

Economics for the People

"PRIVATE PROFIT THE INDISPENSABLE INCENTIVE."—So argues a churchman evidently writing as an unashamed disciple of the classic economic dogmas of Adam Smith, in a widely circulated "Journal of Christian Opinion". The same time-worn doctrine is by him now restated as an article of Christian faith: "As a Christian I believe that better social results are achieved when individ-

uals operate under the profit incentive and are then free to use the wealth they have acquired under the direction of their own conscience and their own sense of moral obligation, than when through excessive taxation and government regulation the profit incentive is stifled and everyone, in effect, is working for the government which then decides in its wisdom how the national wealth is to be expended." What travesty both on the Christian principles of brotherhood, mutual aid, and cooperation, and on a socially planned and operated society! Nevertheless it appears certain that we are to hear more and more such preachments while bonus payments continue to be added to already exorbitant salaries, swollen corporation profits continue to increase (the Securities Exchange Commission recently stating that American Corporations had on hand in the first part of 1944 forty-three billions—eleven billions more than in '41), and money circulates freely.

MORAL FAILURE.—Speaking at the Institute of International Relations at Antioch College, Murray D. Lincoln recently outlined five fundamental causes of world-wide destitution: (1) widespread poverty; (2) lack of nutritional knowledge; (3) primitive methods of agriculture; (4) faulty distribution methods; and (5) the economy which creates artificial scarcities where none actually exist in order to maintain high prices and a so-called prosperity. Society, he declared, possesses no machinery capable of feeding the world, nor is it committed to any broad plan of action for abolishing poverty and extending abundance to the world's millions. "We have not failed," he said, "on the scientific front. We have failed on the moral front."

THE GREAT DEPRESSION FORGOTTEN.—But only temporarily, says no less an authority than Professor Wesley C. Mitchell of Columbia University and Director of Research of the National Bureau of Economic Research. Memories will revive when the downward spiral again begins. "The all-out struggle will not come until we have reverted to business as usual, practiced it buoyantly during several years of active demand for goods, then succumbed to severe depression . . . What we need to learn is how to prevent this recurrent disease of our body politic. The job is one that calls for scientific research quite as truly as does the prevention of cancer or infantile paralysis. To it the nation may wisely devote resources matching those it devotes to the diseases that affect individuals."

Racial Discrimination

WHY NOT FIRST EXAMINE OURSELVES? "No studies have been made of the white man's infantile desire always to be first, always to sit in the front seat, always to have the biggest and best of everything—a desire that makes a nuisance of a child but makes a menace of a man who has the power to get what he wants." Lillian Smith, author of *Strange Fruit*, speaking at the 1944 *New York Herald Tribune* Forum on "Builders of the World Ahead": "It must seem to people watching us a strange and curious thing that when we in America study race relations we study the Negro—not the white man . . . No surveys have been made to determine the cause of that desperate feeling of inferiority which drives white men to shout aloud to the whole world that their skin color gives them priority over other human beings."

A NEGRO MOTHER PLEADS FOR JUSTICE.—In a hearing at Washington before an army judge advocate's review board Mrs. Mayme Jones-Jason voiced a plea "not for clemency but for justice". Her son had been sentenced to fifteen years in prison and a dishonorable discharge from the army in connection with a disturbance and alleged refusal (Turn to page 9)

More Annual Conference Groups Report

Summary reports were presented in the October issue of the SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN from sixteen Annual Conference groups. Toward the proposed minimum Federation budget of \$10,000 per year for the 1944-47 quadrennium one Conference reported approving a quota of \$1,000; ten Conferences \$500 each; one \$300; one \$200; and each of two reported undertaking an active promotional effort without naming a specified goal. Total \$6,500. In all of these sixteen Conferences an active canvass is now under way. Meanwhile reports have been received from additional Conferences as follows:

CALIFORNIA CONFERENCE: Chester C. McCown, president of the Conference Social Action Fellowship, reporting,—"Yesterday, October 9, the officers of our Fellowship held a meeting. The group decided to attempt to raise \$500. for Federation support. . . Other than this, the most pertinent suggestions growing out of our discussion were that our Conference Social Action Fellowship should be organized as a chapter of MFSS, and that the BULLETIN should be more varied in content than in the past and should find means of making itself more vital in giving Federation members a sense of belonging and in supplying more material immediately useful to pastors in educating their churches."

CENTRAL NEW YORK CONFERENCE: Has a vigorous Conference branch Federation of Social Service. The group as a whole has taken no action but individual members have expressed interest in undertaking to raise a Conference quota of \$400. Under date of November 1, Charles C. Noble, president, wires,—"Assure you Central New York Conference will conduct Federation campaign this fall."

WYOMING CONFERENCE: Harold C. Case reporting,—"We have been attempting to get a satisfactory date set for a meeting of the Social Service Commission of the Wyoming Conference. The whole matter of support will come before the most active and interested group of men we have in this Conference. Have no fear, there is genuine concern about the Federation. We have as fine a group of liberal men as any Conference in the Church, and you may depend upon it that we will go forward with plans for getting financial backing, as well as development of interest in the program of the Federation. Our meeting will be held within the next few weeks and we will report at once on our plans."

OREGON CONFERENCE: Mark A. Chamberlain reporting,—"We are working on a lining up of an Oregon Conference group for support of and cooperation with the Federation. Deeply interested men apparently are not numerous in our Conference. "I think we can say that we will raise close to \$200."

NORTHWEST INDIANA CONFERENCE: Blaine E. Kirkpatrick writes: "We have been a bit slow in getting under way in our Conference. I believe Northwest Indiana can be counted on to do its part. We are moving in the direction of getting a committee organized to promote the interests of the Federation. Before long we hope to have something more definite to report."

MISSOURI CONFERENCE: Wilbur E. Longstreth, chairman of the Committee on Social Action and World Peace of Missouri Conference: "We presented the cause of the Federation to a Missouri Annual Conference meeting on Oct. 6. More than one hundred persons expressed their interest by signing the cards passed out. . . There is a big job to be done. We will keep the Federation before this Conference."

PACIFIC NORTHWEST CONFERENCE: George L. Poor, chairman; Daniel E. Taylor, secretary of Conference

Committee on Social Service: "We are planning to send a letter to all ministers and lay members of our Conference encouraging membership participation and soliciting contributions to the Federation. At Conference time we were asked to arrange a mid-year Social Service Conference. Who are the men who might be in this territory early in February or late in January available for such a meeting?"

These reports indicate promotional activity in twenty-three Annual Conferences, a significant minority. What about the remaining eighty Conferences. Surely at least a small group of socially concerned ministers can be formed in *every Annual Conference* of Methodism. Our minimum goal for the quadrennium draws nearer—definite quotas now approximate \$7600.—but we still have a considerable distance to go before it is reached. Will you take the initiative in setting up a Federation committee in YOUR Conference and speedily getting a Conference canvass under way?

An Inquiring Pastor Writes

Fellow members of the Federation: Why all this bother about raising a paltry \$10,000. budget for the Federation? My salary is not large but I feel the work of MFSS is so important that I gladly contribute \$25. a year. I have not been able to fathom why it takes so long to underwrite a budget no larger than that of some thousands of our local churches of a few hundred members. Now I understand.

I decided to go to the Federation office and conduct a one-man investigation. I asked to see the membership files. The Office Secretary obligingly pointed to a thirteen-drawer filing case and I began my private FBI inquiry. The first card I chanced upon carried an annual pledge of \$100. Whew! I whistled. That layman is a stronger believer in MFSS than this preacher. The next neighbor was a promise for \$40. annually. Then one for \$5. The next for \$1.; next \$1.; next \$1. A flock of \$1. bulletin memberships before another \$5. pledge. More \$1. memberships—scads and scads of them—laymen; lay women; ministers. I did not count them but I verily believe those files have 2000 one dollar subscriptions.

Now I understand. I went out of the office reminiscing to myself about a charge I once served where a flock of my devout hearers naively assumed that when they placed a nickel a Sunday in the collection plate they were entitled to the Scriptural benediction on a cheerful giver.

It costs about \$115. a month, I am told, to print the SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN in its present form. Mailing cost, including postage, must be added. Changes of addresses on the mailing stencils—Methodist preachers do move, you know—amount some months to as much as \$20. additional. Then there is the cost of clerical help in sending one, two, three, four—sometimes five reminders before a renewal comes in. (Some never come.) Add a share of the rent and overhead. How much do you estimate is left of those one dollar subscriptions to apply on Executive Secretary's salary and nationwide program expense?

If the two thousand, more or less—I did not count them—Bulletin members would raise their subscriptions to two cents a day, or even a cent and a half (a minimum Regular Membership is only \$5. a year) we would have our budget and we could all go blithely on our way until the next General Conference! To all the hardy souls who like myself have wondered what all the shouting is about, I say: *This is it.* So I subscribe myself,

An Enlightened Pastor.

The Federation and the Rural Problem

Why is it, seeing times are not hidden from the Almighty,
That they who know Him see not his days?
There are that remove the landmarks;
They violently take away flocks, and feed them.
They drive away the ass of the fatherless;
They take the widow's ox for a pledge.
They turn the needy out of the way:
The poor of the earth all hide themselves.
Behold as wild asses in the desert
They go forth to their work, seeking diligently for food;
They cut their provender in the field;
And they glean the vintage of the wicked.
They lie all night without clothing,
And have no covering in the cold . . .
They make oil within the walls of these men;
They tread their wine presses and suffer thirst.—Job.

The ills from which American rural society suffers constitute no new problem. They are older even than the vivid, picturesque writings of Job. As existent in Israel's life they were rooted in social and economic conditions present in Canaan at the beginning of the Conquest. Likewise, from the beginnings of our national economy they have been present in American life. They were among the chief causes of Shay's rebellion in Massachusetts—almost wholly an agrarian insurrection—which followed the close of the Revolutionary War. Oppressive concentration of capital, exorbitant rates of interest, ruthless foreclosure of mortgages resulting inevitably in tenancy were important causative factors. The rebellion was put down by armed might and little was done to correct the abuses that brought it about. But these same abuses had certain beneficent effects. For one thing they extended the frontier. Stimulated by economic pressure, hardy New Englanders pressed ever farther westward, finally crossing the Alleghenies and opening up the fertile prairies of the Middle Border, buoyed by a hope of more favorable conditions which for rural folk was destined to be only partially realized. From other sections also the tide moved resistlessly westward.

The economic history of the frontier during the nineteenth century has been summarily characterized in his masterful way by Parrington: "a long drab story of hardship and privation and thwarted hopes, of men and women broken by the endless toil, the windows of their dreams shuttered by poverty and the doors to an abundant life closed and barred by narrow opportunity. . . . The farmer sat by the kitchen stove and stoked the fire with great ears of corn that were cheaper than coal. . . . Production had outrun consumption. . . . He was in the grip of a complex middleman organization that gouged him at every turn. . . . When he bought implements or groceries or household goods he was at the mercy of a non-competitive market, protected by patent right and tariffs to which were added extortionate transportation and middleman charges."

Decades passed and the World War came on, bringing with it a quick, strong stimulus to agriculture. Within a few months prices of farm products doubled, then quadrupled. The paper values of land correspondingly rose. The government loudly called for increased production. To increase crops, more acreage was required. Farmers not yet freed from debt engaged in speculative purchase of land and heavy investment in power machinery at war prices.

After the war closed collapse was not long delayed. Wheat, corn, barley, oats, beef, pork, and garden produce fell to price levels lower than the cost of production. Within a single decade the decrease in farm capital amounted to twenty billion dollars. Hundreds of thousands of farm homes were foreclosed. Millions of acres of land passed from the hands of individual owners into possession of banks, loan corporations, and the big insurance companies. Came drought, dust storms, the flight of youth to the industrial centers, and the growth of hosts of migrants.

And now World War II. Again rapid increase in price of all agricultural commodities. Immense increase in production by a greatly reduced rural population. Land price levels rapidly rising. Repurchase of farms by former owners and by the younger generation of farm tenants. Farm income for 1944, it is predicted, will be the highest ever recorded. Food shortages in Europe and in the Orient, it is expected, will maintain production demand and high-price levels for some time after the close of the war.

Against this background there is to be noted the development in recent decades of a new agrarianism. It represents a reaction against the unwholesome, debilitating, and often sordid features of industrialism, with its herding of people into crowded manufacturing centers, almost wholly out of touch with nature and its processes, chiefly dependent for enjoyment upon commercialized amusements and sensual pleasures. The reaction is accompanied by a new and deeper appreciation of the natural joys and values of life upon the land—values that are increasingly recognized as essential in the development of individual character and national life. There are many evidences that land hunger is increasing among the people of the cities, and reports indicate that many of the returning soldiers will seek farm homes for themselves.

Altogether the conditions present a tremendous challenge to Protestantism in general and to the Methodist Church in particular. To Protestantism because, for one thing, it is doing comparatively so little in a really creative way for the rural population of the nation; to the Methodist Church for the added reason that its membership is predominantly rural. Of the 42,000 Methodist societies, 35,000 are chiefly rural in membership—organized in communities of 2,500 and under. It is significant to note that the Roman Catholic Church, traditionally in America a Church of the cities, in recent years has become thoroughly alive to the magnitude and importance of the rural problem. Through its National Catholic Rural Life Conference, under able leadership, it has developed an aggressive, practical program.

The constituent factors of the American rural problem are largely social in character. Because of this its challenge is one that makes urgent demands upon the Methodist Federation for Social Service. The Federation is thereby called upon to render a distinctive service to the rural membership and constituency of Methodism—a service that cannot be thought of other than as one of its two or three most important functions. Its social objectives in terms of this rural constituency should be clearly defined and should be such as in content and method represent an advance beyond the program of the official agencies of the Church. We venture at this time to suggest four—by no means all that might be named—which we believe to be significant, concrete, and practical.

Emphasize life on the land as primarily a WAY OF LIFE, in contrast to commercial pursuits as means of financial profit. Farming operations in America, except in periods of artificial price inflation, have never been in any large way financially profitable, and certainly with heavily increased taxation are not likely to be in the future. But life on the land can be satisfying in a deep moral and spiritual sense. American farmers today constitute a bul-

wark of the private-profit economy because they have been taught to think of their interests as inseparable from finance capitalism, which they are not. Rural people should be brought to realize this fact and to understand why in the interest of their WAY OF LIFE they should enlist in basic reconstruction of our social order.

Help the rural Methodist Church to develop within itself the sense of community in forwarding a truly Christian WAY OF LIFE. Far too many churches today exist chiefly to maintain their own institutional existence. A great gain is made in the life of a church when it awakes to the realization that its mission is to serve the community. A still greater gain is made when the church itself becomes a community—a community of the Christian rural WAY OF LIFE. Not many of our churches as yet have become such. By holding the ideal before ministers and laymen; by providing pamphlet material and circulating books; by holding conferences and in other ways, the Federation should aid.

Stimulate the growth of cooperation. The local church should lead its members to realize that it is their *religious* duty to forward cooperation through the organization of consumers' cooperatives and credit unions and through participation in the Farmers Union, the Farm Bureau, 4H Clubs, and other agricultural cooperative agencies. The General Conference has said that Methodists should "study cooperation." The Roman Catholic Church does more: it demands that its members *do* something. In organizing and maintaining a Parish Credit Union, for example, a local church can practice the principles of cooperation which its minister preaches. The Federation can do much to stimulate the growth of cooperation.

Aid in maintaining the family-sized farm. In some areas a trend seems to be beginning toward the breaking-up of large corporation farms. This trend should be encouraged. But more definite effort should be made and aid given toward settling rural young people on family-sized farms as is now being done by the Roman Catholic Church and by the Mennonites. The Federation should agitate and educate toward this end.

Creative Rural Living

It is life on the land which best uses *all* men's capacities, where his intelligence, will, and creative faculties come best into play, where the functioning and growth of his own powers is the *summum bonum*, where the *process of creating* is the central emphasis, rather than the number of things produced.

Our years of actual living on a modern homestead have proved that it holds for us the answer to most of our deepest needs. By homestead I mean a home on a small plot of land where the family, maintaining its natural bond of unity, lives and works to produce its own food, clothing, and shelter—the scene of integral living. . . . We are constantly choosing goals and deciding problems. We sit down to plan long-range processes in plant and animal production. Here the physical, biological, emotional, mental, social, artistic, and religious forces within us come into natural functioning in the interesting and simplified (but not simple) business of creating and producing our own material needs. Life is leisurely, creative, and satisfying. . . . Ours is a new-old pattern of living. We have thirty acres of crop land and eight of woods. It means good black soil, full of living bacteria which one nourishes with organic material and protects from the offense of chemicals. It means awakening to the mystery of growth; it means watching green shoots glisten in the sun, and later when they head-up and turn golden, quickening to the ritual of harvest. It means a kinship with weather; drinking in the sweet fragrance of fruit blossoms; consuming food that is *actually* "sun, soil, and human toil"; responding to the slow movements of the

earth itself, and a whole new set of intangibles which add vitality to life and reality to God.

We have twelve sheep, a team, several cows, some pigs, a small flock of chickens and turkeys, a few hives of bees, and a lovely collie dog—which provide us practically all our needs. Only a natural surplus is sold. Since we produce *first* for use and not for sale, land, equipment, and labor are kept at a minimum. We raise all our own food—vegetables, fruit, cereals, meat, milk, eggs, cheese, flour, molasses, honey. We process everything at home: butchering—we store much meat in a freezing unit—canning, churning, cheese-making, grinding of flour and cereal, baking, soap-making, and weaving. Our sale of wool, lambs, cream, and some grain care for essential outlays for taxes, gasoline, electricity, education, and travel. Our own sheep's wool is spun at a nearby mill (though spinning is on our schedule) and we dye and weave it at home into blankets, drapes, and garments. We ourselves did much of the refashioning of a hundred-year old cottage. . . . The kitchen is replete with modern labor-saving tools, and drudgery is eliminated with electricity. Churning, kneading of bread, preparation of juices, and grinding of meat is done by a heavy-duty kitchen mixer. Flour is ground as we need it in a \$15. kitchen mill. Cooking, washing, ironing, pumping are done with electric power for about \$5. a month.

Almost everything we have is produced at home or is a tool to assist in that production. And our tools remove most if not all our lives from the exploitation of the "machine". The real saving of the productive homemaker is in eliminating distribution costs. Besides that, she eliminates the devitalizing process of milling, sterilizing, pasteurizing, packaging, and storing with a corresponding gain in family health. Human progress is not measured in quantities of *things* produced but in the advance of intellectual and moral powers.—Mildred Jensen Loomis, "Integral Rural Living and Civilization", *Christian Rural Fellowship Bulletin*, No. 91, April, 1944.

Those Ten Thousand Methodists

Several Federation enthusiasts have expressed agreement with the proposal in our October issue to recruit an *average* of one hundred Federation members in each of one hundred Annual Conferences. But some doubt whether it can be accomplished. Nothing like it has been done in thirty-seven years of Federation activity. Why harbor the illusion that it can be accomplished in a period of social reaction?

It can be done, and that by a very simple, time-honored Methodist method. In every Conference let ten men and/or women each undertake by "personal work" to recruit nine new Federation members. Or, if perchance in any Annual Conference there are not now as many as ten members, let each of five persons by personal approach in conversation or letter win nineteen new recruits.

It can be done! The evidence? One deeply interested Federation member, the Rev. C. Milo Connick, East Northfield, Mass., since July 1, 1944, has sent in *eleven new memberships*, with subscriptions aggregating one hundred dollars. What Dr. Connick has done entirely on his own initiative can be done by many others. Why not start the movement in YOUR Conference for ninety-nine new Federation recruits? There are many more than one hundred men and women in your Conference whose frame of mind is very much that of the correspondent whose letter was received this week: "I have just noticed a chance reference to the Methodist Federation for Social Service and its work. What is said makes me think that the Federation may be just what I have been looking for. If I could truly feel that I had an organization standing back of me on whose impartial information on social and economic questions I could rely I would have a great deal more confidence in declaring my social beliefs. There are many others like me in our ministry. I am eager to know more about the Federation."

(Continued from page 5)

to work at Dale Mabry Field, Florida. She told of rearing three children by herself (their father having died a week before the third child was born) to love their God, their country, and their home, in that order. Her son wanted to become an air force pilot, she said, "but was told in the shadow of the home of the Liberty Bell that Negroes were not wanted in the air corps." Offered an opportunity to become an aircraft mechanic, he went to Chanute Field, Ill., completed his course, and was sent to fields in the South where discrimination against his race led to a nervous breakdown. He telephoned her to say that life had become unbearable and later, without leave, came home "mentally and physically ill." He was away from camp six days and when he returned was put in the guardhouse. As "a general prisoner", she argued, "he was not under requirement to report for work duty. As were the 'garrison' prisoners who were serving terms." Thus, she declared, her son "could not have refused to do something he was not required to do." The chairman of the review-board explained that the board's authority was limited to a legal review on the basis of the record that had been submitted.

LOOK OUT FOR KU KLUX KLAN.—Is USA in danger of a Ku Klux Klan revival following the war? That real possibility of it exists, or, if not that, the creation of similar organizations under different names is declared by Professor H. Seudder Mekeel, anthropologist of the University of Wisconsin. Speaking at the annual meeting of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene in New York on Nov. 10, Dr. Mekeel urged the need of earnest effort to stem the tide of increasing race hatred, reminding his audience that the second Ku Klux Klan movement followed the first World War, and emphasizing that it is "definitely associated with reactionary, illiberal, and conservative thinking on social, economic, and political subjects." He called attention to the fact that each of the three principal anti-Negro and anti-Jew movements "has been stronger than the one before and has been able to attract more adherents. So far we have not had a hate and super-nationalist organization that combined with prejudice a definite ideology to apply to government. However the world trend of such prejudice movements . . . is to embody an ideology. We may get such a development here next time. It will not be called fascism, because that term is in disrepute. But the tendencies toward reaction, of course, are much older than the word fascism. With the close association of race prejudice with illiberal ideas, we could not get any other type of ideology than one which would stop change toward a better world.

"Those of us who are white are having, and so far wasting, our last chance to be accepted on an equal basis with the other peoples of a world which is two-thirds colored."

TO COMBAT RACIAL VINDICTIVENESS.—In the belief that vicious reactionary forces in Germany—the feudal Junkers, the military caste, and the monopolists—will be eradicated by the war and its inevitable aftermath and that the common people will be inclined toward the establishment of democratic institutions, an American organization has been formed to foster the development of genuine democracy in Germany. Nine million workers were members of democratic trade unions in Germany before the rise of Hitler. The Nazis have been steadfastly resisted by certain religious groups. More students than is generally known have rebelled against Nazi regimentation. Everything possible should be done to create conditions conducive to an attainable German democracy. Racial vindictiveness will militate strongly against conditions making for an abiding peace.

Chairman of the organization is Christian Gauss. Other members include Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Paul Hutchinson, Harry Emerson Fosdick, and John G. Bennett. The name: American Association for a Democratic Germany (8 E. 41st St., New York).

Cooperation

WHY NOT MORE PARISH CREDIT UNIONS? The need for Credit Unions is emphasized by the results of a study made by the Small Loan Study Commission created by the legislature of North Carolina in 1941. Dr. W. H. Simpson, professor of political science in Duke University, secretary of the commission, states that in North Carolina "interest fees plus other charges for loans of \$10. or less averaged 374.5 per cent per annum; loans of \$10-\$25. averaged 321.6 per cent; \$25-\$50. averaged 237.5 per cent; above \$50. averaged 117.7 per cent. The usury laws, he asserts, are totally ineffective, and they are evaded in numerous ways."

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT GETS A PATRONAGE REFUND.—Here is first-page news that failed to get on the first page of your newspaper. Chances are that it failed to make any page. The National Farm Machinery Cooperative, owned by consumer and purchasing cooperatives of the United States and Canada, located at Shelbyville, Indiana, engaged before the war in producing cooperative tractors. Under an October 26 dateline Cooperative League News Service announced that NFMC had sent to the U. S. Treasury a \$45,000. patronage refund on defense machinery made in the factory, following the regular cooperative practice of refund on purchases.

CHINESE INDUSTRIAL COOPERATIVES.—Interest is worldwide in the development of small decentralized industry. For years preceding the second World War a well defined decentralization movement, undergirded by a sound agrarian philosophy, was steadily gaining ground. In France and Switzerland many big factories had been turned into assembly plants, the production of parts carried on in widely distributed small factory units. In the Orient Gandhi insistently maintained that the people of India must spin and weave in their homes and in small village units the goods her people require. The war has given the decentralization movement new impetus. But it has remained for the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives to demonstrate the practicability of the idea. After long years of devastating war, working under impossible conditions CIC expects during 1944 to produce a hundred million dollars (Chinese) worth of army blankets, besides immense quantities of various other materials. Not all industrial cooperatives have been successful. Failures have been numerous, not surprising considering the terrific handicaps. But many have succeeded. Beyond their militarist values they have been a great unifying force. They have contributed in a significant way toward overcoming hopelessness among the people. Most important of all, they have laid a foundation, even in the midst of the horror and destruction of war, for a new order of living.

SECOND CENTURY OF COOPERATION OPENS.—More than 1200 delegates and visitors from ten nations participated in the Co-op Centennial Congress held in Chicago, October 9-13, marking the one hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the Rochdale Society. Official observers were sent by the governments of Sweden, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

Actions by delegates called upon the Cooperative League, USA, to initiate additional services in cooperative education, publicity, legislation, insurance, health, housing, movie production, and other areas. Additional investment was asked from individuals and cooperatives "sufficient to release all cooperative enterprises from the bondage of any outside or non-cooperative debt." The Congress recommended the creation of a commission to work with representatives from other countries to formulate a program of hemisphere education including exchange of students, teachers, employees, and use of the radio and of friendship tours to stimulate closer relationship across national boundaries. High tribute was paid to the work one hundred years ago of the founders of the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers.

Religion and Business

BIG BUSINESS MORALITY.—What has religion to say concerning current big business methods of defeating the intent of federal regulations and evasion of income tax laws? Methods are many. A recent example of the growing practice of giving corporation officials stock options at a price under the market is reported by *Business Week*. Willys-Overland, it is said, has given its new president, Charles E. Sorenson, an option on 100,000 shares of its stock in lots of 22,500 annually, at \$3. a share although the current market price is \$20. If exercised this option will profit Mr. Sorenson to the extent of \$382,500. a year over and above his salary.

The Church and Labor

CATHOLIC BISHOP URGES LABOR ORGANIZATION.—“To Labor, as to an old friend, the Church addresses her message, and that message is: *Organize*. She points out to the workingman that organization is his only hope of economic salvation. . . . It is the only way for him to resist the ‘immense power and despotic economic domination which is concentrated in the hands of a few.’” These forthright words were a part of the Labor Day sermon, preached on September 3, by Bernard J. Shiel, senior auxiliary bishop of the Chicago Catholic arch-diocese. The bishop continued, “The necessity for labor organization is made more acute by the fact that the employers are strongly organized in their own behalf. The United States Department of Commerce . . . lists over 2400 such associations. And as Labor should now well know, many of the members of these organizations are leagued together ‘to fight labor.’ Against such an array of power, individual bargaining is useless. . . .”

LABOR UNION MISSIONARY TO THE CHURCHES.—Officially set apart by his Union to devote his entire time to work with religious groups, John G. Ramsay has entered upon the activities of his new commission. Mr. Ramsay is an ardent churchman, an active member of the Presbyterian Church, who for some time past has been an organizer of the United Steelworkers of America (CIO). The aim of his work will be to interpret the moral and religious significance of Union Labor to the churches, to foster understanding and better relations.

Labor Facts

LEGISLATIVE GAINS.—In six states, legislatures in 1944 have materially strengthened workmen's compensation laws, involving extension of benefits to injured workers. Specific details are available in “Annual Digest of State and Federal Labor Legislation,” issued by the Division of Labor Standards, U. S. Department of Labor.

INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENT CASUALTIES.—Up to January, 1944, according to report of the National Safety Council, 37,600 workers had been killed and 4,710,000 injured since Pearl Harbor. Of the injured, 210,000 were permanently disabled. War casualties, as of mid-July, 1944, were 63,000 dead and 253,000 wounded. During this period there have been more than 18 times as many industrial wounded as war wounded, and more than half as many killed in industry as in war.

BRITISH DEMAND PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.—The British Trades Union Congress, meeting in Blackpool the week of October 30, urged immediate public ownership of fuel, power, and transport, and public control of all essential industries after the war.

Burning Words

Abraham Lincoln: “The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our cause is new, so we think anew and act anew. We must disenthral ourselves, and then we shall save our country.”

Woodrow Wilson: “You fought for something you did not get . . . and there will come some time, in the vengeful Providence of God, another struggle in which not a few hundred thousand fine men from America will have to die, but as many millions as are necessary to accomplish the final freedom of the peoples of the world.”

Pierre Van Paassen: “For years philosophers and sociologists in their rôle as awakeners of men's consciences have pointed to the exact spot and the precise hour where history went wrong—or, rather, where man turned up the wrong way. Long before the industrial system had reached its zenith there were men who warned that it had been built up, as Bishop Gore once said, ‘in a profound revolt against the central law of Christian morality: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.’ There are, in fact, few things in history more astonishing than the silent acquiescence of the Christian world in the radical betrayal of its ethical foundation.”

H. G. Wells: “Power—gigantic power—has come to us and we can use it only in mutual injury according to the methods of the warring past. Plenty overwhelms us and we do not know how to distribute or use the wealth we can now produce. . . . Invention and scientific knowledge have taken our hearts and imaginations by surprise. Our social and political ideas, our morals, our ambitions, our courage have had as yet no corresponding expansion. . . . The American mind has not kept its vision of the world and its thought about social structure up to date. . . . America has been caught short of any vital social and economic philosophy at all. . . . Few of us as yet apprehend the reality of our situation, and none of us can claim to know with any completeness or lucidity the methods by which our race may be able to adapt itself to the vast and fundamental changes of condition that are going on. Man is today a challenged animal. He has to respond, he has to respond successfully to the challenge, or he will be overwhelmed—like any other insufficiently adaptable animal.”

William Clayton Bower: “The most fundamental problem which confronts modern society is the organization and distribution of the material goods of life in such a way that they will further the self-realization of persons and of society. There can be no permanent guarantee against the recurrence of such disasters as have engulfed the modern world until the processes of production and distribution have been humanized by the organization of technological industry to serve personal and social ends. The problem is two-fold—first, to become convinced that human values and the ideals of brotherhood must become the determinative values in any economic order and, second, to discover the techniques of social organization by which economic goods may be made to serve the ends of brotherhood and social justice.”

The Archbishops Fifth Committee of Inquiry (Anglican): “It would not be unfair to say that large numbers of working people are at the present time employed on terms which suggest that they are means to the production of wealth rather than themselves the human ends for whom wealth is produced. . . . We cannot believe in the stability of any society, however imposing its economic triumphs, if it cripples the personality of its workers, or if it deprives them of that control over the material conditions of their own lives which is the essence of practical freedom.”

The Federation Mailbag

Dear Brothers: For many years past I have had a keen interest in the very splendid work of the Federation. I was at the beginning. But the years have taken their toll. I am "retired"; income "ensmalled," to use a word of Bishop Quayle's coinage. I have tried to help regularly through the years and have been indignant that more Methodists did not get under the load. I hail you who have been entrusted with the hard task of finding ways and means for us to go on. I shall help as I am able until "goodnight" comes. I wish the Federation every success.—C. C. P. Hiller, New England Conference.

Dear Sir: We must find for the Federation the kind of leaders who will know the facts and have the courage to speak and write the truth. It will take some big leadership, because even men like McConnell have had to pay a price for their convictions. The need will soon be greater than ever. This is the time to attack, not to retreat. Could we have *another* office somewhere in the South? Perhaps a southern leader and a northern would be a good combination, providing we can find the men we need. . . . The information coming to us preachers through SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN is indispensable.—William W. Nelson, Rock River Conference.

Gentlemen: I wish to commend the work of those who have carried on the activities of the MFSS through these difficult days. I am one of the young people who drifted away from church activity because I felt it had a stifling effect upon those who advocate a program of social action. . . . I am happy to find within the Church an articulate group on social questions. I am enclosing \$6 in cash. . . . With best wishes for the continuance of the good work.—Russell A. McNutt, New York.

Dear Brother: This Conference is in many ways backward. We have a great number of accepted supplies and many older Conference members whose educational equipment would not now admit them to any Conference. There has been in recent years a strong swing backward to the emotional one-experience type of salvation. Literally hundreds of little sects are springing up in this state, each preaching second coming and other escapist doctrines. Coupled with this has been a tendency on the part of district superintendents to encourage revivals and high statistical reports. What little general interest there was in social action has been stultified by the labor union activities of the Federation. This part of the country is a Republican small-business man's paradise.—(Name withheld by Editor.)

Dear Sirs: The June BULLETIN raises a few questions. In the article "Extend Democracy" anent corrupt politicians, etc., you failed to say anything about corrupt labor and its leaders. Why? My God, when has tyranny been worse than right now under labor? Or am I mistaken? I can't recall when workers have had to work the treadmill more consistently and drudgily than now. . . . In your discussion of business monopoly you do not seem to be much concerned about monopoly under government and state—the worst possible. Strikes seem to be possible under industrial monopoly but try to strike vs. the government and see where you end up. Let's at least be objective and not allow our partialities to obscure the truth.—Paul Brinkman, Jr., Oregon.

Dear friends: I am thrilled with the October BULLETIN, with its varied contents and fine plans. Kindly send me twenty-five copies for use with discussion group.—Archey D. Ball, Newark Conference.

Dear Sirs: I am enclosing my check for ten dollars, my pledge for this year . . . The October issue of the SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN is a most interesting number and bodes well for a stronger organization that will be an inspiration and guide to many.—Mildred Thompson, Minnesota.

Dear Co-workers: I am in receipt of the October BULLETIN and am very much impressed with its contents . . . I am the head of a department of a manufacturing company; am both a laborer and an employer of labor . . . Prophetic preaching has been more or less in eclipse since total war came upon us but the day is at hand when it is needed. I have no illusions about young men returning to back up the Church—the kind of Church they left. Neither have I any hope that the election will settle anything of great importance for there is bound to be a swing back to conservative thinking and action whichever party wins . . . Having subscribed \$40 per year for the next four years I am enclosing check for the first year."—J. M. Grove, Maryland.

Dear Brothers: We have some glaring injustices and inconsistencies within the ranks of the Methodist ministry. We seem wholly afraid to tackle them and force the issues to some adequate solution. Let me mention one—the treatment of our host of accepted supply pastors. As a whole these men are shamefully misused. They comprise an important percentage of our active men. By the law of the Church they have no rights except to obey and to speak in the District and Annual Conferences. They have no vote on any issue. The lay delegate from the charge they serve, often less well informed, has both a voice and a vote. The accepted supply is required by law to function in every manner as a ministerial member of the Annual Conference. He must collect and pro-rate to the other ministerial claims, including the pension fund in which he does not share. As a rule these men are year by year appointed to the poorest-paid charges in the Conferences. As a whole no group of workers in industry have more strict supervision with less remuneration. No doubt it is heroic to assail injustice in business, in labor, and in society in general. But can we, with a clear conscience, contend against injustice without the Church while we tolerate injustice within? What has the Federation to say concerning democratic voice and vote among all ministers—whether in the travelling connection or accepted supplies? I am of the conviction that judgment needs to begin with the house of the Lord.—H. J. Gernhardt, Sr., North Dakota Conference.

On Giving Thanks

Shall I thank God
For bread,
And for the safety
Of the place I lay my head?
In din of crashing worlds
Shot through with screams of pain,
I will do better, far,
To thank my God
That I am strong enough
To share my bread,
Alert enough to tell
Those blinded by their woe
That I still see a star!

When hungry children
Shake with fright,
What can it mean to God
That I am safe at night?

—Franklin D. Elmer, Jr.

Conference Commissions Reports and Activities

NEW HAMPSHIRE CONFERENCE, by vote of the Conference, added to the report of its Committee on Christian Social Relations a statement calling attention to the peril represented by the growth of cartels and declaring consumer cooperatives the most effective means of destroying the hold of these vast aggregations of corporations. The major struggle in industry following the war will be to be "between the industrial oligarchy represented by cartels and the power of the middle and lower classes represented by organized cooperation."

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA-ARIZONA Committee on Social Problems, A. A. Heist, chairman, recently carried through a significant "Poll of Personal Opinion" of 256 members of the Conference (165 ministers; 91 laymen). The poll covered forty affirmations of belief in the areas of "the Church in this age"; the race issue; militarism; and social and economic. Answers were classified (a) strongly believe; (b) believe; (c) uncertain; (d) do not believe; (e) strongly disbelieve. A sampling of the poll follows:

The Church in this age: I believe that an age is ending. A whole way of life is breaking down and is reaching its end . . . the future struggles to be born . . . There is no patching up a way of life that has changed into a way of death. I believe that the American people should not turn back to the old world, but should pioneer toward a new social order. *Answers:* laymen, (a) 47; (b) 19; (c) 13; (d) 6; (e) 3. Ministers (a) 88; (b) 63; (c) 9; (d) 4; (e) 1.

The race issue: I believe that so long as our attitudes and policies deny peoples of other races in our own and other lands the essential position of brothers in the common family of mankind we cannot be safely trusted with the making of a just and durable peace. *Answers:* laymen, (a) 54; (b) 31; (c) 2; (d) 1; (e) 1. Ministers: (a) 129; (b) 27; (c) 2; (d) 3.

Social and economic: I believe that the way of life founded on the supremacy of the economic motive is contrary to God's plan for mankind. *Answers:* laymen, (a) 40; (b) 22; (c) 14; (d) 6; (e) 1. Ministers: (a) 117; (b) 38; (c) 12; (d) 1.

The poll offers an interesting cross-section index of social convictions within one Methodist Conference—possibly one of the most socially progressive Conferences of the Church. As a measure of common understanding and purpose it would be well worthwhile for this identical poll to be taken in one or more Conferences in each Jurisdiction. Orders for the "Poll of Personal Opinion", single copies ten cents each, may be sent to the Federation office or to A. A. Heist, Santa Maria, Calif. (Quantity price at reduced rate from the latter.)

Books and Pamphlets

Postwar Planning for Peace and Full Employment, Symposium by Walter Nash, Thurman W. Arnold, Emil Rieve, John L. Childs, and others. H. W. Laidler, Editor. Pamphlet 64 pp. (League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th Street, New York. 25 cents.) Addresses at a conference on "Free Enterprise, Social Planning, and the Post War World." The first task confronting the nations, Walter Nash, president of the International Labor Conference (1944) and for several years Minister of Finance in the Labor government of New Zealand, contends, is that

of organization of domestic economies on a basis that will normally provide full employment in productive industry for all those willing and able to work. "I affirm," he declares, "that if we can make a gun in war without the profit motive and the resources are there during peace, we can make things essential for human welfare in the peace and save the world. That is what we have to do. International cartels, Thurman W. Arnold holds, are a menace to world peace because they obstruct the normal expansion of the nation's economy. "It is high time we abandoned the illusion that industry controlled by private agreement is capable of any other policy than that of restricting industrial progress." Emil Rieve is less uncompromising in his attitude toward cartels. While freely admitting that the cartel is an enemy to social progress he fears that any post-war legislation against international cartels might first be used against the labor movements of the world. John L. Childs discusses briefly three types of program suggested as means of attaining full employment: "private enterprise", socialism, and a mixed economy.

Black Gods of the Metropolis, Arthur Huff Fauset (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, \$2.00). A sociological study of five Negro cults in Philadelphia, including Father Divine's Peace Mission, Mt. Sinai Holy Church of America, United House of Prayer for All People, Church of God (Black Jesus), and the Moorish Science Temple of America. Important for the light it throws on the Negro's search for a new and more satisfying status in American life. Analyzes the reasons for the strong appeal made by the cults.

Executive Committee

The Executive Committee MFSS has been called to meet in New York on December 2. The Committee will be organized, and report will be made by the Ad Interim Committee of results to November 30 of the promotional effort to underwrite an annual budget of \$10,000 for the quadrennium. Other reports also will be presented and important matters of policy and program determined. Consideration will be given to the election of an Executive Secretary. A summary report of the meeting will appear in the December issue of the BULLETIN.

Is Your Renewal Due?

Renewal notices have been sent in recent weeks to hundreds of regular members and other hundreds of BULLETIN members. Many renewals have been received. To all who have replied: hearty thanks! A distressingly large number have made no response. Please bear in mind that the expense of repeated renewal notices makes a heavy draft upon the Federation budget, requiring funds that otherwise would be available for significant program activities.

To all BULLETIN members whose subscription has not been paid since October 1, 1942, we feel compelled to give notice that the BULLETIN will be discontinued unless renewal subscription is received before November 30.—*Ad Interim Committee*.

Social Questions

BULLETIN

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